

THE MONUMENT OF PORPHYRIUS
IN THE HIPPODROME AT
CONSTANTINOPLE

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THE noted French historian Alfred Rambaud once said, "In Constantinople there were three wonders: God had St. Sophia, the Emperor had his golden *triclinium* (the dining hall in his palace), the people had the Hippodrome." A British historian worded this statement as follows: "If St. Sophia belonged to God, and the Palace to the Emperor, the Hippodrome was the possession of the people." And the same historian added, "If the baths were shut and the Hippodrome closed, life for the Byzantine had lost its savor and become stale, flat and unprofitable."¹ It is true that the three centers of the life of Constantinople were the Cathedral, the Palace, and the racecourse.

The monument with which I deal here belonged to the Hippodrome. In the life of Constantinople and even of the Empire as a whole, the Hippodrome played a very important part. In the first place it was a racecourse, but it was also the favorite gathering place of the inhabitants of the capital, who were very fond of chariot races. The charioteers or drivers wore robes of four colors, green, blue, white, and red, and well-organized factions were formed around the charioteers of each color. During the racing season twelve chariot races took place in the morning, and after an interval of retirement a similar number in the afternoon. Twenty-four races were the full number, but they were apparently gradually reduced to eight. The people had their own favorite charioteers among various factions, their favorite "stars," who were often more popular and more noted than the generals who were leading their troops against the numerous enemies of the Empire. The French scholar mentioned above, Rambaud, remarks, "Never in our country has any celebrated singer [*cantatrice*] or renowned actress been so spoiled [*gâtée*] by the public as the charioteers were spoiled in Byzantium."²

In addition to this, the Hippodrome was a place for all sorts of entertainments which could amuse the people.

In the course of history the Hippodrome became not only the place for races and entertainments but also the scene of many important and some tragic events in Byzantine history. It is not to be forgotten that the circus factions, called in the Byzantine period *demes* (δημοί), gradually turned into political parties expressing different political, social, or religious tend-

¹ A. Rambaud, *Le sport et l'hippodrome à Constantinople*, Revue des Deux Mondes, August 15, 1871, p. 787; reprinted in his *Etudes sur l'histoire byzantine* (Paris, 1912), p. 48. In English: N. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1926), p. 28.

² Rambaud, *Etudes*, pp. 20-21.

encies, very often opposed to each other. The voice of the mob in the Hippodrome became a sort of voice of the people. As one historian says, "In the absence of the printing press, the Hippodrome became the only place for a free expression of public opinion, which was at times compelling to the government."³ The Emperor sometimes appeared himself in person in the Hippodrome in order to offer the people explanations of his actions. Many such examples may be found in the course of the long history of Byzantium. I shall cite here two which occurred in the period to which our monument belongs.

Under the Emperor Anastasius in 498 a serious riot occurred in the Hippodrome. Stones were thrown at the Imperial box, the Kathisma, which was located in the Hippodrome, and one of these nearly hit the Emperor. In 512 under the same Emperor such a disturbance on religious grounds arose that the Prefect of the City interfered with armed force. The rioting assumed the dimensions of a revolt. The people proclaimed a new emperor. Anastasius sent heralds to the people declaring that he was ready to abdicate and appeared himself in the Kathisma of the Hippodrome without his crown. He succeeded in calming the tumult, and the crowd begged him to put on his crown and promised good behavior.

The famous Nika Revolt in 532 under Justinian began in the Hippodrome. Justinian made an effort in person to pacify the people. He appeared in the Kathisma with a copy of the Gospels in his hands. The crowd was bitterly hostile, and the situation seemed desperate. The Emperor was ready to leave the capital and flee. This course would have been adopted had it not been for the intervention of his wife Theodora, one of the most remarkable women in Byzantine history, whose indomitable courage mastered the wavering spirits of her husband and his councillors. A contemporary source, the historian Procopius, reproduces her short speech, when she spoke to her husband to the following effect:

As to the belief that a woman ought not to be daring among men or to assert herself boldly among those who are holding back from fear, I consider that the present crisis most certainly does not permit us to discuss whether the matter should be regarded in this or in some other way . . . My opinion then is that the present time, above all others, is inopportune for flight, even though it bring safety. For while it is impossible for a man who has seen the light not to die, for one who has been an emperor it is unendurable to be a fugitive. May I never be separated from the purple, and may I not live that day on which those who meet me shall not address me as mistress. If, now, it is your wish to save yourself, O Emperor, there is no difficulty. For we have much money, and there is the sea, here the boats. However consider whether it will not come

³ F. I. Uspensky, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I (St. Petersburg, 1914), p. 506 (in Russian).

about after you have been saved that you would gladly exchange that safety for death. For as for myself, I approve a certain ancient saying that royalty is a good burial-shroud" [or "the purple is a fair winding sheet"].⁴

Theodora's dauntless energy communicated itself to her hearers, and they resolved to remain and fight. The riot was crushed. The throne was saved through the moral energy of Theodora and the loyal efforts of the general Belisarius.

Themes connected with the Hippodrome and with racecourses have been rather frequently reproduced in Byzantine art, and it would be superfluous to list them all here, at this particular moment. I wish to give only one example, which, if I am not mistaken, has been rarely mentioned. I refer to a silk textile from the shrine of Charlemagne at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). As we know, the shrine or tomb of Charlemagne has been several times opened, first in the reign of the German king Otto III in the year 1000, then in 1166 under Frederick Barbarossa, and finally in June, 1906. In the course of these openings several pieces have been put into the shrine, and some pieces have been taken out. The best-known piece from the shrine is the textile representing a formal motif of elephants standing before conventionalized trees, which is attributed to the middle of the tenth century. The textile which I cite here comes from the same shrine and is now preserved at the Musée de Cluny in Paris (Fig. 1). It is attributed to the sixth century, in other words to the period of our monument of Porphyrius. The original color of the textile is golden yellow upon a bluish-purple background (*sur fond pourpre bleutée*). We have a charioteer *en face*, in his professional costume (*vêtu de sa casaque professionnelle*), conducting his four horses, which are symmetrically placed (*disposés avec symétrie*). His reins are usual are tied around his waist; we see his elaborate belt. Two figures, one on each side, are running towards him; one of them, to our right, holding in one hand the wreath, and in the other hand the whip. In all probability this textile reproduces the final moment of the charioteer's victory, when he is about to be honored with a wreath. Beneath the *quadriga* (four-horse team) are two small figures, one on each side of an altar, with cornucopiae (horns of plenty). A fragment also of a similar textile is to be found at Brussels, at the Musée d'art et d'histoire.⁵

The monument which I am about to discuss, erected to the famous charioteer Porphyrius, stood in the Hippodrome, where we know there were several statues of noted drivers, with bases ornamented with reliefs and

⁴ Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 24, 33-37 (H. B. Dewing, I, pp. 230-233).

⁵ L. Bréhier, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (Paris, 1936), p. 99; plate LXXXIV. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris, 1923), pp. 47-48; fig. 16 on p. 49.

epigrams. Although our source fails specifically to mention the name of Porphyrius, the actual monument as we have it, entirely corresponds to the general description of these statues in the source.⁶ Our monument was therefore one of several.

The original bronze statue representing the famous charioteer Porphyrius has not come down to us. But the rectangular base of white marble which originally supported the statue has been preserved and is of considerable interest from several standpoints. The monument apparently was moved from the Hippodrome, possibly after the Turkish conquest. About 1845 it was transferred to form part of the Museum of Antiquities then being collected in the atrium of the Church of St. Eirene. But unfortunately this church, although it was never used as a mosque, was enclosed within the precincts of the Seraglio and converted into an armory, so that the antiquities collected there were inaccessible to all but those provided with special permits. Only in 1910 was the church thrown open to the public as a Military Museum; from that time on our monument has been at the disposal of all who might wish to study it. It is now in the Ottoman Museum.

The first account we have of the monument is in 1845, when it was seen by a certain Mr. Abeken, who said that the base had recently been disinterred in the Seraglio of Constantinople (*dissotterrato nel Seraglio di Costantinopoli*). Scholars were informed of its existence in 1847, when an account of the discovery of the base, with Abeken's copies of the inscriptions on the north side of the base only, was published by Henzen.⁷ In 1868 Dumont gave a short description of the base in his catalogue of the collection of antiquities in the Church of St. Eirene and erroneously ascribed it to the epoch of the Emperor Justin II (565–574).⁸ In two studies, one in 1871 the other in 1878, G. Kaibel showed that some of the inscriptions which have been preserved on the sides of the base come from the Planudean Anthology, which was compiled by Planudes about 1300, and that they praise the most celebrated *auriga* of the fifth and sixth centuries, Porphyrius Calliopas, who lived probably during the time of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518).⁹ In 1880 Mordtmann published a full account of the monument, with lithographed illustrations showing all four sides, and attributed it to the period

⁶ Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, *Scriptores originis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Th. Preger, II (Leipzig, 1907), p. 191, no. 79, ll. 9–10 (under the title Τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου στῆλαι, nos. 73–79). See also Ps. Codinus, Georgius Codinus, *De signis Constantinopolitanis*, Bonn ed., p. 54.

⁷ See A. M. Woodward and A. J. B. Wace, *The Monument of Porphyrios*, in W. S. George, *The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople* (Oxford, 1912), p. 79.

⁸ A. Dumont, *Le Musée Sainte-Irène à Constantinople, Antiquités grecques, gréco-romaines et byzantines*, *Revue archéologique*, XVIII (1868), pp. 255–256.

⁹ G. Kaibel, *De monumentorum aliquot graecorum carminibus* (Bonn, 1871), p. 18 sq., 32. Idem, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), p. 388, no. 935.

preceding Anastasius or to the beginning of his reign, in other words to the end of the fifth century.¹⁰ Thirty-one years later, in 1911, the French scholar, Ebersolt, studying the monument after the opening of the church to the public, described the reliefs from the point of view of their place in the development of Byzantine art, and confirmed the opinions of the epigraphists mentioned above, Kaibel and Mordtmann, that the monument is a work of the end of the fifth century.¹¹ Up to the year 1910–1911 the best general description of it available was the one by Mordtmann, which as we know appeared in 1880.

Today the best description of the monument, with excellent reproductions of all four sides, is found in the study by A. M. Woodward and A. J. B. Wace, *The Monument of Porphyrios*, published in 1912 as appendix to the monograph of the Church of St. Eirene by Walter S. George. It may be pertinent to mention that Woodward, as he says, did not have the advantage of seeing the monument himself, but was indebted to Mr. George for admirable photographs of the monument and squeezes of the inscriptions, and to Mr. Wace, who had examined them at his request in April, 1911, for a description of the reliefs.¹² I shall quote Woodward-Wace's study as WW.

The height of the base is ca. 2.85 metres (nearly ten feet), its maximum width about 1 m. and its depth 0.80, though the sculptured faces measure naturally somewhat less, as the corners are cut inward. The front of the monument can be easily established, because it is clearly indicated by the marks of the feet of the bronze statue, still visible on the top. This is the west side (= B) of the base, according to WW (plate 27). The upper edges

¹⁰ Dr. Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal des Porphyrius*, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Athens, V (1880), pp. 295–308; especially pp. 301–303. See also Dr. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople* (Lille, 1892), p. 49, 68; originally published as four articles in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, XLI (1891), p. 376; 474. On Kaibel's and Mordtmann's studies see D. Beliaev, *The Church of St. Eirene and the Earthquake in Constantinople on June 28, 1894*, *Vizantiskiy Vremennik*, I (1894), p. 774, n. 1 (in Russian).

¹¹ J. Ebersolt, *A propos du relief de Porphyrios*, *Revue archéologique*, 1911, II, pp. 76–85. The reliefs of all four sides of the base are reproduced on pp. 78; 80; 82; 84. See also Ebersolt, *Céramique et statuette de Constantinople*, *Byzantion*, VI (1931), pp. 561–563, an article which deals briefly with our monument; on p. 562 one side of the monument is reproduced.

¹² Walter S. George, *The Church of Saint Eirene at Constantinople*, with an Historical Notice by Alexander van Millingen, and an Appendix on the Monument of Porphyrios by A. M. Woodward and A. J. B. Wace. Published for the Byzantine research and publication fund (in association with the British School at Athens). Oxford, 1912. Appendix on our monument, pp. 79–84. Plates 26, 27, 28, 29. See a preliminary but very substantial report on the monument by Woodward, *Some Notes on the Monument of Porphyrios at Constantinople*, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XVII (Session 1910–1911), London, pp. 88–92. In his well-known book *Constantinople* (Boston, 1895), E. A. Grosvenor in the chapter *Djeb Khaneh* in Volume II deals with the Church of Saint Irene (p. 474 sq.); on p. 482 he gives a picture, *Kettle Drums of the Janissaries*, in which the monument of Porphyrios is vaguely represented; but in the text of his book he does not refer to this monument.

of the front or west side (=B) and of the back or east side (=D) are damaged, so that some inscriptions have been mutilated or altogether obliterated. This damage was possibly caused by fire, perhaps when the statue which stood upon the base was thrown down.

I shall begin with the front or west side of the monument (=B in WW; Plate 27: Mordtmann, *Nordwestseite*) (Fig. 2). The inscription at the top is missing. On the plinth on which the chariot and horses stand are inscribed the horses' names, Ἀριστίδης, Παλαιστινιάρχης, Πύρρος, Εὐθύνικος. On the space below this is an inscription:

[“ΟΛ]οις ὧδε ὅλους ἐκέῖ, καὶ διβέρσια δεύτερον
μόνος ἐνίκησεν Πορφύρις ὁ εὐδόκιμος.
Σο βίνκας Πορφύρι.

i.e., as I understand, “Thus the celebrated Porphyrius alone vanquished these all, and then, in the second race [δεύτερον] [vanquished] in diversium. Tu vincas Porphyri! Be victorious, O Porphyrius!” I shall explain the term *diversium* — διβέρσιον — a little later.

The upper panel shows us an ideal portrait of Porphyrius at the moment of victory with his lifted right hand bearing the wreath, and his left hand the palm branch, the emblems of victory. He has dropped the reins; he does not need them any more. The chariot has stopped, and two Cupids, or as Ebersolt says, two naked children (p. 79), standing on both sides of the plinth hold the heads of the outside horses. The one on the spectator's right holds a palm branch in his left hand as emblem of victory. Above are two Nikai flying down to present a wreath and a palm to the victor. While Mordtmann (p. 304) observes that from the artistic point of view these two Nikai are the best-rendered figures on the monument, Ebersolt calls them “two heavy Victories (*les deux lourdes victoires*) who hover above the victorious charioteer.”¹³

The lower panel represents in all probability the exchange of teams between the two charioteers. This constituted the essential feature of the contest which has just been mentioned as τὸ διβέρσιον. Porphyrius's unique double victory in this is commemorated in the lines written in popular Greek immediately above the panel. The words Σο βίνκας Πορφύρι are a Graecized form of the Latin words *Tu vincas Porphyri*. Ebersolt suggests (pp. 80–81) that the scene represents the “parade” (πομπή τῶν ἵππων) which took place before the race, to show off the competing horses to the public. Mordtmann has pointed out, pp. 307–308, the significance of the knots into which the

¹³ Ebersolt, *A propos du relief de Porphyrios*, *Revue archéologique*, 1911, 2, p. 83. See also E. Kantarowicz, “The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina,” *The Art Bulletin*, Dec. 1944, vol. XXVI, 222.

horses' tails are tied; horses' tails were tied up until, owing presumably to age or injury, their racing days were over, when their tails were untied and the special racing shoes were removed from their feet.¹⁴ This was the end of their racing career. But most probably on our relief we have two grooms of the two opposing parties, one from the Greens and the other from the Blues, in the act of handing over their masters' teams as a starting point for the διβέρσιον.

We have a full description of this event in the treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *On the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court*, which was compiled in the tenth century.¹⁵ From this treatise we also learn that the διβέρσιον was dependent on the Emperor's wish and permission (κελεύοντος τοῦ βασιλέως). The arrangement of the διβέρσιον was that two charioteers, one from the Greens and one from the Blues, having competed together, exchanged teams and then competed again. This was an extremely hard test of skill, because the charioteer in this case would be driving horses which he had just before beaten with his own team. A victory in the διβέρσιον was a sure proof of the charioteer's superior skill. And Porphyrius was famous for such skill.

There is a very clear and interesting though brief description of the διβέρσιον in one of the Greek epigrams included in the Planudean Anthology, addressed to another famous charioteer, Constantine. In it we read: "Constantinus having won twenty-five races on one morning, changed his team with his rival's, and taking the same horses that he had formerly beaten, won twenty-one times with them. Often there was a great strife between the two factions as to which was to have him, and they gave him two robes to choose from," i.e. the green robe of the Prasini (Greens) and the blue of the Veneti (Blues).¹⁶

In their study Woodward and Wace remark that the artist on our relief has attempted the difficult task, first tried in Greek sculpture about a thousand years before by the carver of the Selinus metope, of representing a quadriga *en face* (WW, p. 81) (Fig. 3). I must make it clear that Greek sculpture is not at all my field. Here I wish merely to describe the quadriga

¹⁴ See *Constantini Porphyrogeniti De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, I, 69: περὶ ἵππου ἀπολύοντος. Bonn, pp. 339-340; A. Vogt, II (Paris, 1939), p. 142.

¹⁵ *Constantini Porphyrogeniti De Cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, I, 69 (Bonn, pp. 336-337; Vogt, II, pp. 139-140): Περὶ διβερίου.

¹⁶ *The Greek Anthology. Epigrams of the Planudean Anthology not in the Palatine Manuscript*, no. 374; ed. and translated by W. R. Paton, V (London-New York, 1926), pp. 380-383. Paton's note on p. 362 is to be corrected; it reads: "It was the practice for a victorious charioteer to change his team with another of his own faction and to race him. This was called a 'diversium'." As we have seen, the point is that a victorious charioteer exchanged his team with that of a member of the competing faction whom he had just beaten.

en face just mentioned, which occurs on one of the metopes of an ancient temple at Selinus in Sicily, so that we may compare the two reliefs. The metope of Selinus is now preserved in the National Museum of Palermo. Just as the auriga Porphyrius stands on our relief, so on the metope of Selinus is also an auriga, perhaps Apollo or Helios. As on our relief, the two outside horses of the metope have their heads turned aside. As on our relief, on both sides of the Selinus auriga are two standing figures.¹⁷

We turn now to the north side of the monument (= A in WW; Plate 26; Mordtmann: *Nordostseite*) (Fig. 4). Above the topmost relief there is a half-broken inscription which can be very easily restored, because it is an epigram included in the Planudean Anthology, no. 340. It is dedicated to Porphyrius and reads as follows:

To others when they have retired, but to Porphyrius alone while still racing, did the Emperor give this honour. For often he drove his own horses to victory and then took in hand the team of his adversary, and was again crowned. Hence arose a keen rivalry on the part of the Greens, hence a shout of applause for him, O King (*Κοίρανε*) who will give joy both to Blues and to Greens.¹⁸

From this epigram we learn that the statue of Porphyrius was erected during his life, apparently an extremely rare honor, for which the Emperor's special permission was needed.

Continuing to deal with the epigraphic data of this side, we see that above the horses are given their names; reading from left to right we have *Νικοπόλεμος*, *Ῥαδιᾶτος*, *Πύρρος*, *Εὐθύνικος*. The name *Ῥαδιᾶτος* is probably connected with the word *ῥάδια*, a kind of easy shoe. The last two names, *Πύρρος* and *Εὐθύνικος*, have been already mentioned on the west side of our monument; in other words, these two horses were racing for the second time, of course not in two successive races, but after some rest.¹⁹ Immediately below the topmost relief, there is another Greek inscription the text of which, the third line in particular, is somewhat unsatisfactory. I submit here an approximate and tentative, rather awkward, translation.

Faction of the Greens

ἽΑγεται, οὐκ ἄγεται [?] I do not care, give us Porphyrius,
in order that those whom Porphyrius
pleased [by winning] for the Blue he may also please
[by winning] for the Green,
if he puts on the costume [of the Green].

¹⁷ See for instance Jean Hulot et Gustave Fougères, *Sélinonte, La Ville, l'Acropole et les Temples* (Paris, 1910), p. 288.

¹⁸ *The Greek Anthology*, Book XVI, no. 340; ed. and transl. by W. R. Paton, V (1926), pp. 364-365.

¹⁹ On changes and substitution of the horses in races, see *De Cerimoniis*, I, 69 (Bonn, pp. 333-334, and Reiske, *Commentarii*, p. 333; Vogt, II, pp. 136-137). Cf. Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal*, p. 307.

Δῆμος Πρασίνων.
 Ἄγεται, οὐκ ἄγεται, οὐ μέλει μοι, δὸς ἡμῖν Πορφύριν,
 ἕν' οὗς Πορφύριν
 Ἐτερψεν εἰς Βένετον τέρψει καὶ εἰς Πρασίνους,
 εἰ δ' αὐτὸς λάβει τὸ δημόσιον.²⁰

The text, although Mordtmann recognizes in it definite traces of meter, hexameter, pentameter, and in addition a mutilated (*verstummelter*) pentameter, is obviously poor, but the meaning of the inscription is clear: the faction of the Greens is anxious to have Porphyrius, who after winning a race for the Blues may win another race for the Greens, putting on the robe of their faction. We have here another allusion to the *diversium*, which we have described above.

Turning to the relief, we see in the upper panel Porphyrius standing in his chariot bearing in his right hand the wreath and in his left the palm, emblems of victory (τὰ ἔπαθλα). As we have seen, he is also represented on the west or front side with the wreath and palm in his hands. On our relief Porphyrius is represented as absurdly tall in proportion to the size of his horses and chariot. It is impossible to visualize his features, because they have almost entirely vanished owing to the weathering of the marble, and his costume can be better studied in the larger relief on the east side (= D) which I shall describe later. But we may observe the reins tied round his waist, above his elaborate belt. The horses are represented almost in profile, in stiff and conventionalized attitudes, those on the extreme right and left each lifting a foreleg from the ground.

In the lower panel we have a conventional scene representing spectators in the Hippodrome acclaiming the victor, with raised right hands, five on each side of the steps (γραδῆλια) which divide the rows of seats. It is very possible that these spectators (on A) are ten supporters of the Green faction, for the inscription above the scene is apparently put in the mouths of the faction of the Greens (Δῆμος Πρασίνων). There are six steps leading up between the seats.

For the south side (= C in WW, p. 82, Plate 28; Mordtmann, Südwestseite), first we turn to the epigraphic material (Fig. 5). Above the topmost relief there is an inscription reproducing Epigram 342 in the Planudean Anthology. It is as follows: "The sculptor exactly portrayed in bronze Porphyrius himself, fashioning him as if alive. But who shall mould his grace, his races, his inspired tricks of his craft, and victory that never varied?"²¹ Above the horses their names are given: Ἀλιεύς (fisherman, seaman),

²⁰ WW, p. 80 and n. 2. See also Woodward, *Some Notes . . . The Annual of the British School at Athens*, no. XVII, p. 89. Cf. Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal*, pp. 306–307.

²¹ *The Greek Anthology*, Book XVI, no. 342; ed. and transl. by Paton, V, pp. 364–365.

Ἀνθύπατος (proconsul), Κυναγός (hunter), Πελώριος (prodigious, huge, terrible). The inscription on the space below the relief is no longer legible. But it was no doubt a faction-cry in popular Greek like that on A. Since on A the faction-cry was, as we have noted above, put in the mouths of the Greens, the illegible inscription on C was perhaps put into the mouths of the Blues. It is quite plausible that here the Blues were claiming to have Porphyrius for themselves, wearing their robe. The reliefs on C are replicas of those on A, except that the steps leading up between the seats of the Hippodrome number five here, not, as we have seen above on A, six.

On the east side (=D in WW, pp. 82–83, Plate 29 (Fig. 6); Mordtmann, *Südostseite*), the inscription at the top is lost. Apparently on this face there were no other inscriptions. The relief represents Porphyrius himself, in his charioteer's costume, standing *en face*, holding in his raised right hand the wreath, and in his left the palm, symbols of victory. This is in all probability a copy of the bronze statue of him which the base supported and which has not come down to us. The carving is so rough that we might think at first that Porphyrius wore head covering; but he is really represented here as bareheaded, because in order to receive the wreath or palm from the *mandator* (herald for the Emperor) in the Emperor's name before the Emperor's throne in his imperial box, the victorious charioteer had to lay aside his helmet, or cap, and whip. His hair is arranged in a thick mass of loose curls, which, as Woodward and Wace say (p. 82), appears from other figures of Porphyrius on this monument to have been the prevailing fashion of the period. According to the same scholars, he wears a close-fitting undershirt with sleeves (γυμναστίκιον) and over it an ornamented sleeveless tunic, typical of charioteers (αὐριγάριον) reaching not quite to the knees, which are left free. The tunic is bound around his waist with *fascia* (band, girdle), and is divided down the center of the chest by a vertical line. Over the tunic round his waist is a broad belt (ζωστόν) with an elaborate fastening, formed by a cord laced crosswise through six rings and pulled tight. Round his neck is hung a *bulla*, a kind of amulet worn around the neck. His legs are covered with a kind of cross-gartering like modern puttees, which leaves the kneecap free and continues up the thighs. It is impossible to make out what he wears on his feet. To his right an Eros or, according to Ebersolt, a naked child, is holding the charioteer's cap, the silver helmet (κασσίδιον ἀργυροῦν) without which the charioteers could not take part in racing. To Porphyrius's left another Eros or child is holding a whip in his raised right hand, and in his left an uncertain object, either the *falx*, as Wace suggests, (sickle, reaping hook, knife), which the charioteers, who drove with the reins tied round their waists, carried in order to cut themselves free from the reins in case

of accident, or perhaps, and more probably, his faction-badge of colored ribbon.²²

The treatise *De Cerimoniis* gives a very interesting passage concerning the charioteer's helmet. If a driver during the race could free his hand from the reins and knock off his opponent's cap, he won the race even if he came in second. Accordingly if a victorious charioteer arrived at the winning post without his cap he was disqualified; he lost the race.²³

We know that on the north and south sides of our monument there are engraved two epigrams included in the Planudean Anthology which have survived as nos. 340 and 342 in this compilation. We have also pointed out that the inscriptions at the tops of the west and east sides are missing. The opinion of those scholars who have been specifically interested in our monument is that those two sides also had inscriptions or epigrams; but they have not come down to us. The fact that the two epigrams which have survived occur in the Anthology very close together as nos. 340 and 342 suggests the presumption that they were entered in the Planudean collection in the exact order in which they had been copied in the Hippodrome from our monument, and therefore that the front and back bore nos. 341 and either 339 or 343. Let us take epigram no. 341, which reads as follows:

The votes of all erected near to Victory the statue of me, Porphyrius, while still driving, because my own faction demanded the honour, and the opposite one desired to have me again, renouncing their hostility. I got the best of the other drivers by my cleverness, giving them in exchange for their own better horses, and then showing them to be my inferiors.²⁴

Without doubt, this epigram deals with the contest discussed above, the so-called *diversium*. If this is the case, the epigram would be very suitable for the front or west side of the monument, where on the upper panel we have the victorious Porphyrius, and on the lower panel the exchange of teams between two factions, just before the *diversium*.

Let us look now at the epigram no. 343 which reads as follows:

In a brazen image the Lord of the Latins [*κοίρανος Αὔσονίων*, i.e. the Byzantine Emperor] set up the victorious driver, strong himself as brass, as being skilled and dear to the Blues; but we shall see many statues yet of Porphyrius erected because of his victories.²⁵

Again, as the large-scale relief on the east side or back of the monument (=D in WW) is, as we have noted above, perhaps a copy of the bronze

²² See *De Cerim.*, 336, 4 (*γυμναστικιον*); 330, 19 (*αἰργάριον*) and Reiske, *Comment.*, p. 332; 330, 20 (*ζωσρόν*); 330, 19-20 (*κασσιδιον ἀργυροῦν*); Vogt, II, pp. 139, 134. WW, pp. 82-83. Ebersolt, *A propos du relief de Porphyrios*, p. 79.

²³ *De Cerim.*, I, 69 (p. 339, 5-11; Vogt, II, p. 141). See Mordtmann, *Das Denkmal*, pp. 298-299. WW, p. 83.

²⁴ *The Greek Anthology*, XVI, No. 341; ed. and transl. by Paton, V, pp. 364-365.

²⁵ Paton, V, pp. 364-365 (no. 343).

statue which our base once supported, the allusion in no. 343 to the "brazen image" (εἰκόνι χαλκείῃ) would be very appropriate here. Thus we may conclude with some probability that the epigrams engraved on our base or stele were nos. 340–343 inclusive, and that the copyist read first that on side A, and then in succession those on B, C, and D.²⁶ If instead of nos. 340–343, we take nos. 339–342 inclusive, we should lose epigram 343 with its mention of a brazen image, which so well suits the relief on the back of the monument. I give here the text of epigram no. 339, which also deals with the *diversium*.

The valiant to the valiant; the wise to the wise; the sons of victory, the Blues, to the son of victory, Porphyrius, erected this statue; for he glories in the two victories he gained by the interchanged teams, the team he gave and the team he received.²⁷

The inscriptions in popular Greek which have been preserved below the topmost relief on A and B are highly interesting as the earliest examples of the metrical cries of the factions of the Hippodrome. According to Bury, the earliest example known hitherto dated from about half a century later, in A.D. 561. There are also several metrical acclamations in the record of A.D. 602.²⁸

Porphyrius's amazing career in racing has left marked traces in the *Greek Anthology*. There are thirty-two epigrams dedicated to Porphyrius, most of them anonymous; six epigrams are indicated as written by Leontius Scholasticus, an epigram poet of the epoch of Justinian the Great (527–565); two epigrams were composed by a certain Thomas, apparently of the same period. His two epigrams, as a scholiast tells us, were not on statues of the charioteers, but on pictures on the roof of the Emperor's box in the Hippodrome.²⁹ Without doubt all these thirty-two epigrams belong to the sixth century and consist of strictly contemporary work. Reflecting the general literary trend of that century, the authors try to write in imitation of ancient Greek and use names which go back to very remote times of Roman history. They call the Byzantine Greeks Ausonians, and the emperors, Κοίρανος, Ἄναξ or Κοίρανος Ἀυσονίων (the Lord of the Latins); Constantinople is simply named Rome (Ῥώμη), without the additional attribute *New* (New Rome); they write *Latin liberty* (Ἀυσονίης ἐλευθερίας) for Byzantine or Greek liberty. On the basis of these thirty-two epigrams and two brief men-

²⁶ See Woodward, *Some notes*, pp. 90–91.

²⁷ Paton, V, pp. 362–363 (no. 339).

²⁸ J. B. Bury, *Note on the Metre of the Inscriptions in Popular Greek*, The Annual of the British School at Athens, No. XVII (1910–1911), pp. 92–93. In his study on the metrical acclamations of the Byzantines, P. Maas has not dealt with the Porphyrius inscriptions. *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner*, *Byz. Zeitschrift*, XXI (1912), pp. 28–51.

²⁹ See Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, V, p. 385, n. 2.

tions of his name in our historical source (John Malalas), we may sketch a picture of Porphyrius's long life.³⁰

Generally speaking, the epigrams dealing with Porphyrius follow his life almost chronologically. The first twenty-four anonymous epigrams refer to Porphyrius's origin and his activities as charioteer in the days of his youth and maturity, which took place in the time of the Emperor Anastasius (491–518), as is clearly shown in the historically important epigram no. 350, which we shall discuss later. Then the six epigrams by Leontius Scholasticus deal with Porphyrius's old age when under Justin I (518–527) in spite of his sixty years he resumed his successful driving and was again enthusiastically acclaimed by the spectators. Finally the two epigrams by Thomas were composed soon after Porphyrius's death, which probably occurred at the end of Justin's reign or at the beginning of that of his nephew Justinian. Here follows what we can piece together of Porphyrius's life from the epigrams and the Chronicle of John Malalas.

Calchas (Κάλχας) was the name of Porphyrius's father (nos. 335; 336; 381). Porphyrius is also very often known by his other name Calliopas (Καλλιόπας), which he seems to have adopted late in life (nos. 349; 358; 359; 360; 361; 362).³¹ He was African (Πορφύριος Αίβυς; Πορφύριον Λιβύη τέκε) by origin (XV, nos. 46–47; XVI, 344), from Alexandria,³² but he was brought up in Constantinople (XV, 47: θρέψε δὲ Ῥώμη). Apparently he had excellent health and lived to be over sixty (XVI, 358: ἐξ δ' ἐτέων ἀνύσας δεκάδας). He started his career as charioteer with the Blues very early in life, when "with the first down on his cheeks, he held the reins for the faction of the Blues" (381). "It suited the Blues most to have him, and his statue was erected by them" (46). "The valiant to the valiant; the wise to the wise; the sons of victory, the Blues, to the son of victory, Porphyrius, erected this statue; for he glories in the two victories he gained by the interchanged teams, the team he gave and the team he received" (339). The mention of the two victories may allow us to ascribe this epigram to his earlier period. He was "the vic-

³⁰ The three anonymous epigrams, nos. 44, 46, and 47, are included, among other epigrams, in the Palatine manuscript, Book XV, under the title *Epigrams in the Hippodrome at Constantinople*. Ed. and transl. by W. R. Paton, V, pp. 150–153. The other twenty-seven epigrams are incorporated in the Planudean Anthology, Book V, and reproduced as Book XVI of the Greek Anthology under the title *Epigrams on the statues of Athletes in the Hippodrome at Constantinople*, nos. 335–362. Finally, the two epigrams by Thomas, nos. 380–381, as we have noted in the text, were on the roof of the Imperial box. Paton, V, pp. 360–375 and 384–385.

³¹ The latter name is confirmed by Malalas: Καλλιόπας τις ἡνίοχος ἀπὸ φακτιοναρίων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Bonn, pp. 395–396).

³² Porphyrius's Alexandrian origin is mentioned by Malalas. Th. Mommsen, *Bruchstücke des Johannes von Antiochia und des Johannes Malalas*, Hermes, VI (1872), 375: Πορφύριον τινα ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας.

torious driver, strong himself as brass, as being skilled and dear to the Blues" (343). A very interesting conversation between two persons, A and B, is found in epigram 344, clearly referring to Porphyrius's youth.

A. Who art thou, dear young man, the point of thy chin just marked with down?
 B. Stranger, I am Porphyrius. A. Thy country? B. Africa. A. Who has honoured thee?
 B. The Emperor, on account of my driving. A. Who testifies to it? B. The faction of the Blues. A. Porphyrius, thou shouldst have had Lysippus, a skilled sculptor, to testify to so many victories.

Evidently Porphyrius's fame was rapidly growing. Even "the rival faction (i.e. the Greens) in admiration of his glory applauded him loudly" (338). "He alone gained an unwonted mark of honour, a bronze statue in the grounds of each faction" (351). His victories in *diversia*, of which we have spoken above, introduced him into the rival faction of the Greens. It is not to be forgotten that the factions in the Hippodrome represented different religious tendencies: the Blues (Venetoi) stood for the Chalcedonian Council, and the Greens (Prasinoi) for Monophysitism. As a Monophysite, Anastasius naturally favored the Greens. And the epigrams give us a very interesting picture of how gradually Porphyrius, whose racing triumphs fascinated Anastasius, under pressing imperial influence, left the Blues in order to enter officially the imperial party of the Greens. In epigram 348 we read, "Why did the distinguished faction of the Greens erect on the course the statue of the charioteer Porphyrius? The Emperor himself issued the order." This unnamed emperor was undoubtedly Anastasius; otherwise the author of the epigram would not have called the Greens "the distinguished faction." "Our Sovereign Lord (Κοίρανος), who grants the favour to the Greens, gave to Porphyrius after the races an honour worthy of his performance" (349). Because of his great importance as driver for both parties, it is, I believe, incorrect to presume, as Paton does (V, p. 372, note), that the Blues seem to have expelled Porphyrius. They would never have dared to do so. The Emperor permitted Porphyrius's statues to be erected. In epigram 335 we read, "The Emperor and the faction erected the statue of Porphyrius, loaded with many crowns won by skilled toil, the youngest of all the drivers as well as the best, and winner of as many victories as any." "To others when they have retired, but to Porphyrius alone while still racing, did the Emperor give this honour" (340). In another epigram, "In a brazen image the Lord of the Latins (κοίρανος Ἀυσονίων) set up the victorious driver" (343). "The labours are rewarded with a bronze statue by the Emperor, by this myriad-throated faction, by the whole city, considering that even the hands of the hostile faction applauded thy exploits" (362). Porphyrius's victories are incessantly praised in the epigrams, especially his

diversia. "Often he changed factions and often horses. Being sometimes first, sometimes last, and sometimes between the two, he overcame both all his adversaries and all his partisans" (47). "The eye of Fortune ranges over all things, but now the eye of Fortune is attracted to the exploits of Porphyrius alone" (346). "Having gathered into one all the separate qualities which adorn each driver, he showed himself to be the great man he is" (353). Epigram 357 is very elegant (cf. 337). "Cytherea (i.e. Aphrodite) loved Anchises, and Selene Endymion, so it is fabled by men of old time. But now a new fable (*νέος τις μῦθος*) shall be sung, that Victory fell in love with the eyes and chariot of Porphyrius." The people clamored for Porphyrius if it happened that he took no part in some races. Epigram 336 reads "Four times before did the people shout distinctly, desiring Porphyrius, the son of Calchas; and he, taking up the reins and his driving belt . . . drives starting from there, urging on his team." Porphyrius's brazen statues, among them the bronze statue under consideration, are very often mentioned in the epigraphs; they were set up from the years of his youth, in the grounds of each faction. Our statue belongs to the rather early period of Porphyrius's life, and was erected about A.D. 500, in the reign of Anastasius. This conclusion is in complete harmony with the opinion of epigraphists and historians of art. Epigram 335 writes that "this man's statue should have been of gold, not of bronze like the others." In epigram 341 we have Porphyrius's own words about himself: "The votes of all erected near to Victory the statue of me, Porphyrius, while still driving. For my own faction demanded the honour, and the opposite one desired to have me again, renouncing their hostility. I got the best of the other drivers by my cleverness, giving them in exchange for their own better horses, and then showing them to be my inferiors." One epigram compares Porphyrius with Alexander the Great by saying, "Thou standest near Victory and King Alexander (*Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλῆος*), thou who hast gathered in thee the glory of both" (345).

Historically epigram 350 is very interesting, reading as follows:

Not only did divine Victory crown thee on the race-course, but in war, too, she showed thee to be victorious, then, when the Emperor, with the Greens to assist him, warred with the furiously raging enemy of the throne; when the savage tyrant fell, as Rome was on the point of perishing, and the light of Latin liberty [*ἡμαρ δ' Ἀύσονίης ἐλευθερίης*] came back. Therefore the Monarch [*Ἀναξ*] gave to the Greens the privileges they formerly had, and the artist wrought and carved thy image, Porphyrius [*σὸν δὲ τύπον τέχνη ἔξεσε, Πορφύριε*].

It is obvious that the Emperor who, supported by the Greens warred against "the furiously raging enemy of the throne," was Anastasius, and that this enemy was Vitalian, who at the end of Anastasius's reign at the head of a

large army composed of Huns, Bulgarians, and perhaps Slavs, and aided by a strong fleet, successfully advanced towards the capital in order to depose Anastasius and proclaim himself emperor. To the world Vitalian announced that he rose to defend the Chalcedonian Council and the Orthodox church oppressed by Anastasius, who was Monophysite. The Greens mentioned in our epigram, as we have noted above, stood for Monophysitism and naturally supported Anastasius in his war against the Orthodox (Chalcedonian) Vitalian. After a long and strenuous struggle the rebellion was suppressed, and if we use the words of our epigram, "the light of Ausonian liberty came back." The epigram shows that in the years 513–515, when Vitalian's insurrection was raging Porphyrius, then over fifty, took part in military operations, and that the triumphant Anastasius, in order to demonstrate once more his appreciation of Porphyrius's service, this time in the battlefield, allowed his favorite faction of the Greens to erect a new statue of Porphyrius.³³

In connection with Porphyrius's enormous popularity I may mention here a fragment of a Greek illustrated papyrus discovered by Dr. Johnson of Oxford in 1914 among a number of late papyri in a mound at Antinoë, in Egypt. The illustration represents a group of six charioteers visible almost to their knees, three standing in the front line. The charioteers on the right appear to be standing under, or rather before, an arcade. The charioteers clearly belong to different factions. According to the author of the study of this papyrus, it is quite probable that the monument of Porphyrius in Constantinople was erected by all the four factions, and not only by the "Greens" to whom he belonged. So, the papyrus under consideration may represent the scene, when the famous and victorious charioteer was honored not only by his friends but also by his antagonists. An exact dating of the fragment is not possible; but the lettering appears to indicate a date of about A.D. 500. Taking into account the excellence of our painter, the author says, "I should propose as date for this fragment the fifth century, and even its first half."³⁴

In his old age Porphyrius resumed or perhaps continued his driving; at that time he was already over sixty years old. In his epigram dedicated to Porphyrius, Leontius Scholasticus writes, "When a youth thou didst conquer thy elders, and now in thy later years thou conquerest the young drivers of racing four-horse chariots. Having accomplished thy six decades of years,

³³ By the way, this epigram has never been used in any writing on Anastasius.

³⁴ S. J. Gasiorowski, "A Fragment of a Greek Illustrated Papyrus from Antinoë," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XVII (1931), 1–9, with one plate. For the indication of this papyrus I am greatly indebted to Professor K. Weitzmann.

thou hast won, Calliopas, a statue for thy victories, by command of the Emperor, so that thy renown may abide for future ages. Would that thy body were as immortal as thy renown" (no. 358). In another anonymous epigram (356) we read that other drivers "do not lack grey hairs, but lack that virtue on which glory depends. Porphyrius alone twice gained the splendour of such gifts, not boasting many decades of years, but many hundreds of victories, and all of them akin to the Graces" (καὶ πάσας συγγενέας Χαρίτων).

Porphyrius's exploits in the field of driving in his old age belong to the time of Anastasius's successor, Justin I (518–527), who drastically changed Anastasius's religious policy and definitely sided with the followers of the Council of Chalcedon. In other words, the faction of the Blues, who stood for the decrees of this Council, became the more influential one; and the Greens, who had been favored by Anastasius, lost their dominance. This change in the religious orientation of the Byzantine government may be clearly traced in the epigrams dedicated to Porphyrius, who became *persona grata* among the Blues, of course with the consent and probably with the recommendation of the Emperor. In epigram 359 we read: "Victory dedicated to thee, Calliopas, this brazen image of thy divine form, because in thy old age thou didst conquer men in the prime of youth by thy force in subduing horses, and in thy youth didst conquer thy elders by skill. Hence the faction of the Blues, the children of liberty [ἐλευθερόπαις Βενέτων δῆμος], erected two prizes for thee, one for thy art and the other for thy force." In these new circumstances Porphyrius continued to be famous and successful, and epigram 360 proclaims, "Thy old age has surpassed thy youth in victories, and thou didst ever overcome all, Calliopas. Therefore do the Emperor [i.e., Justin] and the free faction [i.e., the Blues] [Ἄναξ καὶ δῆμος ἐλεύθερος] again raise this honour to thee, a monument of thy skill and valour." Apparently the moment in Porphyrius's life came when he temporarily ceased his driving on account of his advanced age. The anonymous epigram, no. 44, from Book XV, clearly says, "Here they set up again in brass and silver Porphyrius, who formerly too stood here in brass owing to his merit, when he had ceased from his labour and unbuckled his belt. Old man, after receiving honours from abroad [ξείνων ἀντιάσας γεράων], thou didst at the loud request of the people take up thy whip again and dost rage furiously on the course, as if in a second youth." The record of this epigram, that Porphyrius was loudly required by the people, is fully confirmed by a fragment of John Malalas published by Mommsen from an Escorial manuscript, which states that at the beginning of Justin's reign and in any case before the assassination of Vitalian in 520, the factions demanded that the Emperor

should attend the races, and also states that the Blues (οἱ Βένετοι) shouted demanding "a certain Porphyrius from Alexandria."³⁵ Porphyrius's death, which occurred under Justin I (518–527) or at the very beginning of the reign of his nephew Justinian, ca. 527, has been poetically recorded by a certain Thomas in two epigrams. In epigram 380, dedicated "to Porphyrius, of the faction of the Blues," we read, "Porphyrius, the wonder of the Blues, having conquered every charioteer on earth, does well to rise and race towards heaven. For he, victorious over every driver here below, months to join the sun on its course." Thomas's second epigram (no. 381) reads as follows: "This Porphyrius, son of Calchas, with the first down on his cheeks, held the reins for the faction of the Blues. I marvel how some artist's hand has painted his horses as if alive. Really, if he whips them again, I think he will be carried again to victory." In conclusion of my survey of the epigrams connected with Porphyrius's amazing career I wish to cite here epigram no. 352, which shows that in the person of Porphyrius, Nature created perfection. "The sculptor made the bronze like unto the charioteer; but would that he could have fashioned also the vastness of his skill and his beauty, a thing that when Nature brought forth late in her life she swore, 'I cannot travail again.' Nature swore it with truthful lips, for to Porphyrius first and alone she gave all her gifts."

Besides the epigrams, there are two records in our historical sources which deal with Porphyrius-Calliopas, and which I have mentioned briefly above. Both records are found in the Chronicle of John Malalas, a sixth century writer from Antioch. The first record belongs to the period of the Emperor Anastasius, when Porphyrius was officially connected with the Greens, and the event under consideration took place at Antioch. It was a period of grave internal seditions in this city, faction fights in the Hippodrome of Antioch, and anti-Jewish disorders. According to John Malalas, a certain driver of the Green faction, Calliopas (Καλλιόπας), i.e. Porphyrius, arrived from Constantinople in Antioch. Finding one of the Green stables vacant, he received the charge of it, and won a victory at the races. Then, when the Olympian games were shortly after held at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, before a vast assemblage of the Antiochenes, a disorderly crowd – the causes of the riot are unknown – under Calliopas's leadership, made an attack on the synagogue at Daphne. They pillaged and burned it, killed many Jews, and set up a cross on the spot, declaring that the place was to be henceforth the *martyrium* (chapel) of St. Leontius.³⁶ Porphyrius thus

³⁵ Th. Mommsen, *Bruchstücke des Johannes von Antiochia und des Johannes Malalas*, Hermes, VI (1872), p. 375.

³⁶ Malalas, Bonn, pp. 395–396. This record is omitted in the Slavonic version of Malalas.

took a prominent part in this extensive riot, which, according to Malalas, occurred on July 9, 507.³⁷

The second record belongs also to John Malalas, but has been preserved in an Escorial manuscript; it also deals with popular troubles, but this time in Constantinople, under Justin I, when Porphyrius-Calliopas was already officially connected with the Blues, who supported Justin. The fragment under review describes a riot in the Hippodrome, at the very beginning of Justin's reign, just before the murder of the consul Vitalian, who was assassinated in 520, and whose rebellion against Anastasius we have mentioned above. The story as represented by John Malalas is not very clear. A riot broke out during the races in the Hippodrome, and many people were killed by the soldiers who apparently were sent to repress it. Then — we do not know why or how — the opposing factions, the Greens and Blues, came to an agreement, assembled in the Hippodrome, and demanded that the Emperor attend the races. The factions shouted for their favorite dancers (ὀρχηστὰς), the Greens demanded Caramallus (Καράμαλλον), the Blues a certain Porphyrius from Alexandria. The secondary factions, the Reds and the Whites, also demanded their favorite performers. And the Emperor gave satisfaction to the demands of all factions. In other words, Porphyrius, in spite of his old age, was allowed, or better, was ordered by Justin to resume his racing activities.³⁸ In this passage, Malalas seems to have taken Porphyrius for a dancer, like Caramallus, who was demanded by the Greens.

The famous dancer and mime, Caramallus, occurs in other passages besides this of Malalas. In a letter presumably written by Aristaenetus, who lived at the end of the fifth century, a certain Speusippus writes to a dancing girl, Panarete, that in dancing she successfully imitated the famous Caramallus.³⁹ The name of Caramallus is also mentioned by the Western writer of the second half of the fifth century, Apollinaris Sidonius, who, in one of

See E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch*, 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268 (Oxford, 1921), p. 180. Woodward-Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³⁷ Malalas, 396: *μηγὶ ἰουλίῳ θ', ἰνδικτιῶνος ιε'.*

³⁸ Th. Mommsen, *Bruchstücke des Johannes von Antiochia und des Johannes Malalas*, *Hermes*, VI (1872), 375. Woodward and Wace have overlooked this record, so that they are incorrect in saying "As to the date of Porphyrius, our sole evidence, apart from epigrams, is derived from the passage of John Malalas," they refer to the text quoted above, Bonn, p. 395 ff. In his study, *Les noms des auriges dans les acclamations de l'Hippodrome*, G. Millet fails to mention the name of Porphyrius-Calliopas. *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N. P. Kondakov* (Prag, 1926), pp. 279–295.

³⁹ *Aristaeneti Epistolae*, Liber I, 26: *ἵνα δὲ μόνον προσφύως μιμουμένη τὸν Καράμαλλον τὸν πάνν, ἀπάντων ἔχεις τὴν μίμησιν ἀκριβῆ.* R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1873), p. 155. On Aristaenetus see Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyklopädie*, II, 851–852. W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, umgearbeitet von W. Schmid und O. Stählin, II, 2 (München, 1924), 1048.

his poems addressed to a poet, Consentius of Narbonne, writes, "In your presence a Caramallus or a Phabaton, with his closed lips and his action that speaks through nod, leg, knee, hand, and spin, will for once be unnoticed."⁴⁰

On the basis of this documentation we can say that the dancer Caramallus probably lived in the second half of the fifth century. His name was known to Apollinaris Sidonius, who died about 479, or somewhat later. But, according to Malalas's Escorial fragment, the faction of the Greens demanded Caramallus in the Hippodrome, at Constantinople, at the very beginning of Justin's reign, in 518–520. Therefore there is a question whether there were two famous dancers of the same name, Caramallus, one in the middle of the fifth century, and the other in the first half of the sixth, or whether that the crowd in 518–520 demanded Caramallus merely meant that they wanted to have a dancer as skillful as the late Caramallus. The latter hypothesis is less probable, because at the same time the Blues were claiming Porphyrius, who, as we know, was then alive. At all events, Caramallus's name occurs elsewhere besides in Malalas's chronicle.

Since during Justin's reign in the twenties of the sixth century, Porphyrius, as we know, was already over sixty years old, he must have been born in the sixties of the fifth century, under the Emperor Zeno, so that in July 507, when the riot at Antioch broke out in which he took a prominent part, he was about forty, i.e. in the zenith of his career and a person of distinction. In other words, the most important and most brilliant part of his career passed during the reign of Anastasius (491–518), when he officially belonged to the faction of the Greens, favored, as Monophysite, by the Emperor. During this time and I think before Porphyrius's appearance at Antioch in 507, our statue was erected, about 500, the first of several

⁴⁰ Gai Sollii Apollinaris Sidonii Carmina, XXIII, v. 268–271:

coram te Caramallus aut Phabaton
clausis faucibus et loquente gestu,
nutu, crure, genu, manu, rotatu
toto in schemate vel semel latebit . . .

Rec. et emendavit Christianus Lvetjohann. *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auctores antiquissimi*, VIII (1887), p. 256. See *Index*, p. 422: Caramallus. Pantomimus aetatis incertae. *The Letters of Sidonius*, translated, with introduction and notes, by O. M. Dalton, II (Oxford, 1913), pp. 142–144. *Sidonius, Poems and Letters*. With an English translation, introduction, and notes by W. B. Anderson, I (Cambridge, Mass. — London, 1936), 300 (text); 301 (translation). On Consentius of Narbonne, to whom the poem is addressed, see p. 283, n. 3. See also *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova epigrammatum veterum*, ed. Fred. Dübner, II (Paris, 1888), p. 634 (note for no. 283): in one version of this epigram, compiled by Leontius Scholasticus, there is the name of Caramallus for Rhodoclea. *Auctores antiquissimi*, VIII, 422 (index personarum). See the text and an English translation of this epigram in Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, V, pp. 328–329 (with the name of Rhodoclea).

statues which were later erected in the Hippodrome. Scholars who have studied the monument from the point of view of the style of its sculpture and inscriptions have reached the same conclusion as to date.⁴¹ It might be interesting and important to make a special study comparing the sculptures of our monument and the reliefs of the base of the obelisk of Theodosius, which are a hundred years earlier. Scholars have been surprised to find so little difference in style between the two. But if I am not mistaken no special study has yet been done on this particular question.

As far as we may judge, the Porphyrius on our monument was a portrait statue; on the east side where the relief represents him standing *en face* we may see him neither as an old man nor as a youth, but as a man of mature age in the zenith of his career. Woodward and Wace observe (p. 84) that "it is possible that the monuments of charioteers, of which there were some hundreds in the Hippodrome, followed a conventional model, type and style alike being perpetuated by repeated copying." But I am sure that our monument was not so stereotyped. The relief on the east side, which has been preserved, shows a clear attempt to represent the real features and the real figure of the famous charioteer, Porphyrius.

⁴¹ Woodward and Wace (p. 84) write that the approximate date of the monument may be given as A.D. 490-510.











